

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----090673 131737Z /47

O P 131554Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7835
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0818

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

USUN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PDEV RH
SUBJ: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO ZAMBIA'S ON ALL PARTY MEETING

REF: (A) STATE 63462, (B) STATE 63495, (C) LUSAKA 0806

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT MARK CHONA DEFENDED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT POSITION TOWARDS THE ALL PARTY CONFERENCE IN RESPONSE TO TALKING POINTS CONTAINED REFTEL B. THOUGH HE INDICATED PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD INSTRUCTED FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE IN NEW YORK TO SUPPORT THE CONFERENCE IN PRINCIPLE WE UNDERSTAND HE IS VERY SKEPTICAL ABOUT IT. END SUMMARY.

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2. FOLLOWING PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S BRIEFING OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORP ON THE RHODESIAN RAID INTO LUANGWA (REF LUSAKA TEL) MONDAY MORNING, BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER ALLINSON AND I SPENT ABOUT AN HOUR WITH MARK CHONA AND MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS NUMBER TWO, PERMANENT SECRETARY NZUNGA IF THE FORMER'S OFFICE.

3. I MADE THE POINTS CONTAINED IN REFTEL B AND READ SELECTED PASSAGES FROM REFTEL A TO EMPHASIZE THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S POSITION. CHONA TOOK NOTES ON THE TWO TELLING ARGUMENTS CONTAINED IN THE TALKING POINTS ON THE NEED TO MOVE RAPIDLY AND TO ALLOW MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE A WAY OUT OF SMITH'S EMBRACE BY GIVING THEM A PLACE IN THE DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, HE SPENT MOST OF OUR 45 MINUTE DISCUSSION DEFENDING THE PF POSITION.

4. THE FIRST ARGUMENT CHONA USED WAS THAT THE PF WAS CONCERNED THAT WE WERE SLIPPING AWAY FROM THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND PREPARING TO SEARCH FOR A MIDDLE GROUND WITH THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THIS WAS EVIDENT IN THE TERM "BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THE PARTIES." WE REPLIED THAT WE REMAINED COMMITTED TO A CONFERENCE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP. IF WE WENT FARTHER THAN THAT, WE SAID, WE WOULD BE CERTAIN TO CLOSE THE DOOR TO PARTICIPATION BY THE OTHER SIDE, WHICH WOULD SERVE NO ONE'S PURPOSE. WE ALSO NOTED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD REFUSED TO SIT DOWN WITH THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS AT THIS STAGE UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, EVEN AT A CONFERENCE ENTIRELY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE AAP AS A FOLLOW UP TO MALTA.

5. CHONA SAID THAT ALL THE LETTERS FROM PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN AND PRESIDENT CARTER COMMITTING US TO SUPPORT THE AAP NOT ONLY IN SPIRIT BUT IN LETTER SEEMED TO BE DISSOLVING IN THE

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SILENCE WHICH HAD FOLLOWED THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. I POINTED OUT THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN HAD EXPRESSED OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE AAP ON TWO OR THREE OCCASIONS BETWEEN FEBRUARY 15 AND PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT ON MARCH 9. WE CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THE AAP PROVIDED THE BEST, FAIREST AND MOST PRACTICAL SOLUTION, BUT IF THERE WERE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS ON WHICH PARTIES COULD AGREE WE WOULD BE FOOLISH NOT TO CONSIDER THEM ALSO.

6. CHONA SAID HE HAD HEARD OVER THE RADIO THAT SMITH HAD TURNED DOWN THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE. WE SAID WE COULD NOT CONFIRM THIS, BUT THAT IT MADE NO DIFFERENCE ANYWAY. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS FOR THE PF TO APPEAR TO BE COOPERATIVE OR ELSE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD GAIN SUPPORT IN OUR COUNTRIES. CHONA DEVELOPED THE POINT THAT WE WERE TALKING TO THE WRONG PEOPLE; WE SHOULD BE CONCENTRATING OUR EFFORT AND FOCUS ON SMITH AND THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS IN AN EFFORT TO STOP THE PROGRESS OF THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT. WE REPLIED THAT A CONFERENCE MIGHT HAVE JUST THIS EFFECT AND WE SAID THAT IN CONVERSATIONS WITH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA WE HAD CALLED ATTENTION TO THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE AGREEMENT. WE WERE CALLING ON ZAMBIA AS A FRIEND OF THE PATRIOTIC

FRONT TO URGE IT TO AVOID REJECTING THE CONFERENCE CALL.
WE WOULD TAKE CARE OF PRESSING THE SALISBURY GROUP IN OTHER
WAYS. CHONA SAID HE FELT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO GET A
REPLY FIRST FROM SMITH AND THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS.

7. CHONA DID SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD CALLED FOREIGN
MINISTER MWALE IN NEW YORK YESTERDAY TO AUTHORIZE HIM TO
EXPRESS ZAMBIAN SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE FOR THE CONFERENCE.
ALLINSON AND I INDICATED OUR APPRECIATION FOR THIS SUPPORT
AND OUR HOPE THAT THE GRZ WOULD ALSO EXPRESS IT TO THE PF.

8. FINALLY, CHONA ARGUED THAT WE WERE BEING TOO CONCILIATORY
TOWARDS THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS. HE PREDICTED THAT WITHIN
A FEW WEEKS MUZOREWA CERTAINLY AND PERHAPS SITHOLE ALSO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 0818

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

USUN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

WOULD ABANDON THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. WHY, HE ASKED, HAD THERE BEEN NO CELEBRATIONS IN THE VARIOUS CITIES OF RHODESIA AT THE TIME OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT. HE ANSWERED HIMSELF, BECAUSE IT WAS A BAD ONE, AND THE PEOPLE KNEW IT. SOON THE TWO NATIONALIST LEADERS WOULD DISCOVER THE SAME AND BEGIN LOOKING FOR A WAY OUT. THE WAY TO ENCOURAGE THIS RESULT WAS TO BE TOUGH WITH THEM, NOT TO OFFER THEM ANY RECOGNITION AT ALL. WE NEEDED TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THEY HAD NO SUPPORT ANYWHERE. WE REPLIED THAT CHONA MAY BE RIGHT, AND IF THE CONFERENCE DIDN'T GO FORWARD, WE WOULD SOON HAVE A CHANCE TO FIND OUT. WE HOPED THAT HIS OTHER PREDICTION--OF INCREASED MILITARY CONFLICT--DID NOT PROVE

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CORRECT FOR THE SAKE OF EVERYONE INVOLVED. IF MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE DID DECIDE TO COME BACK TO OUR PROPOSAL, WE CONTINUED TO STAND BEHIND IT AND SUPPORT IT AS THE FAIREST AND MOST PRACTICAL OF THE SOLUTIONS WE HAD YET SEEN.

9. TOWARDS THE END OF THE CONVERSATION CHONA BROUGHT UP TWICE THE RESTRAINT PRESENTLY BEING EXERCISED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FROM FORMING ITS OWN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE IN ZAMBIA. IT DID NOT WANT TO DO THIS, HE SAID, BECAUSE IT WANTED TO LEAVE OPEN THE DOOR TO DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UK AND THE US ON THE AAP.

10. COMMENT: THOUGH CHONA DID NOT ACCEPT OUR ARGUMENTS, WE HAD THE IMPRESSION PHAT HE UNDERSTOOD THEM AND THAT IF THE RIGHT OPPORTUNITY CAME, HE MIGHT USE THEM. STILL, I DOUBT THAT HE WILL RESPOND TO ALLINSON'S REQUEST THAT THE ZAMBIAN'S CONTACT THE PF IN LONDON TO URGE A MORE FLEXIBLE POSITION TOWARDS THE ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE BEFORE THE MONDAY EVENING MEETING WITH DAVID OWEN.

11. EVEN KAUNDA'S SUPPORT FOR THE ALL PARTY CONFERENCE IS TEPID. WE UNDERSTAND HE CALLED THE IDEA A "NON-STARTER" IN AN INTERVIEW WITH A BBC REPORTER OVER THE WEEKEND.

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